DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 066 966 FL 003 370

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TITLE Social Factors, Interlanguage and Language Learning.
NOTE 52p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Creoles; Dialect Studies; English (Second Language); Immigrants; *Language Development; Language Research; Learning Motivation; *Learning Theories; Minority Groups; *Nonstandard Dialects; Pidgins; Psycholinguistics; *Second Language Learning; Social Influences; Sociolinguistics; *Standard Spoken Usage

ABSTRACT

This paper considers a number of diverse contexts in which English is learned as a second language and in which nonstandard dialects arise because of social and linguistic factors. The varieties considered here are immigrant English, indigenous-minority varieties of English, pidginization and creolization, local varieties of non-native English, and English as a foreign language as a branch of study. The learning processes and dialects are discussed in terms of interlanguage, seen as the learner's approximate system, that is, the intermediate stage between the source and target language which results from transfer, transfer of training, strategies of communication, learning, and overgeneralization. The concept of interlanguage provides a basis for dialect and language variety description, because it considers rules which are linguistic in origin -- derivable from the mother tongue and limited exposure to the target language -- and social in origin -- derived from communication and learning strategies. Implications of the interlanguage theory in terms of learning English as a foreign language are also discussed. (VM)

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SOCIAL FACTORS, INTERLANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

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* An earlier version of this paper was read as a guest lecture at the Modern Language Center, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto. For comments on the earlier version and encouragement to prepare a publishable version I am grateful to Larry Selinker, Elaine Tarone and Kim Oller (University of Washington, Seattle), David Lawton (Central Michigan University), and to Professor R. LePage (York University, England). Much that is said here is of course tentative. and I would be grateful for comments, suggestions, or additional data.

INTRODUCTION

A number of diverse contexts for second language learning are considered in this paper and the following questions asked: Under what conditions is standard English learned? What factors lead to the development of non-standard varieties of English, such as immigrant English? What accounts for the divergence of local varieties of English such as Nigerian or Indian English from British or American norms? Under what circumstances is more marked language divergence likely to occur, such as is found in Creole settings? More generally the paper focuses on the choice of appropriate models for the analysis of second language data. An area of research is illustrated which encompasses both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions. The concept of *Interlanguage* is proposed for the analysis of second language learning and illustration is drawn from the processes affecting language learning in the following contexts: immigrant language learning, indigenous minority varieties of English, pidgin and creole settings, local varieties of English, English as a foreign language.

1. IMMIGRANT VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

Despite the huge numbers of immigrants settled in the English-speaking world in the last century, relatively little is known about the learning of English by immigrants. The linguistic dimensions of immigrant assimilation have tended to arouse interest only in instances of unsuccessful adaptation. Some immigrant groups have developed functionally adequate but socially unaccepted or non-standard varieties of English, and these are the focus of analysis here. In isolating the generation of non-standard varieties of immigrant English we are separating the initial language learning problems confronting all immigrant groups, from those which persist and result in the development of distinctive non-standard varieties of English. Studies of immigrant communities in the initial stages of contact have referred to the emergence of particular dialects of English, such as Swedish English, Norwegian English, and German English, many of which have been transient and short lived (Haugen, 1953). We do not hear any longer of Norwegian English or German English as group phenomenon arousing educational concern. Yet Puerto-Rican and Mexican-American English have not had the same history. How may we characterize these varieties of English and under what circumstances do they arise? To answer these questions we will consider both the social and the linguistic dimensions of immigrant English.

The Social Dimension

One of the best accounts of the general factors involved in the preservation of the immigrant's mother tongue, which may be used as a guide to assimilation into the majority language group, is given by Kloss, who emphasizes that the factors involved are so variegated that their interplay cannot be summarized by a single formula (Kloss, 1966). Clearly much is dependent on the pattern and area of settlement. Immigrants not inhabiting a compact area are less likely to develop non-standard dialects than those in a compact area. The fate of an individual immigrant arriving in an English-speaking city will provide data on how the individual acquires English, but this is of less general concern here than the fate of an interacting group of immigrants concentrated in a given place, where the outcome of the contact between the immigrant group and the dominant culture is not so much a result of *individual* solutions, depending on motivation, intelligence, perseverance, aptitude, learning strategies, personality, socialization etc., but a result of the social and economic possibilities made available for the group. Besides numerical strength and distribution, a number of other factors can affect immigrant assimilation. These have to do with educational level, cultural and linguistic similarity to the mainstream culture, color, race and other general factors which may determine the attitudes towards the majority group and vice versa.

The evolution of lasting non-standard varieties of a standard language is a consequence of the perception by the immigrant of

the larger society, and a reflection of the degree to which the immigrant groups have been admitted into the mainstream of the dominant culture. Psychologists have been able to distinguish between instrumental motivation, where the dominant or new language is acquired primarily for such utilitarian purposes as getting a job, and integrative motivation, which demonstrates a desire for or the perceived possibility of integration with the dominant group. The former may lead to a functionally adequate but non-standard dialect of English. We can predict for example, the sort of English likely to be acquired by an immigrant who mixes exclusively with his own language group and who opens a food shop catering largely, but not exclusively, to that language group. He will probably learn first to reply to a limited set of questions in English, to manipulate a closed class of polite formulae, the vocabulary of some food items, and perhaps the language of simple financial transaction. Whether he goes on to learn standard English or develops a functionally adequate but non-standard personal dialect of English will depend on the degree of interaction and integration he achieves with the English-maintained societal structures. He may have very little control over the degree of interaction possible. If 100,000 such immigrants in similar situations reach only a minimum penetration of mainstream power structures, begin to perpetuate their semi-servile status, and begin to use English among themselves, the setting for the generation of an immigrant variety of English might be present.

Where the learning of English is not associated with societal penetration and upward mobility, but rather with occupational and

economic subservience, we can expect language divergence to be the outcome of contact with standard English. As an illustration of the two extremes it may be useful to refer to the fate of German and Puerto Rican immigrants to America. A recent account of the fate of German immigrants to Texas emphasizes that the German immigrants there are not poverty stricken (Gilbert, 1971). They do not live in ghettoes. They suffer under no handicaps whatsoever. They thus learn English easily and well. Although a certain amount of German interference is present in their English, it results in no obvious social discrimination. The people of German descent are thus well-off and pursue the whole range of occupations open to Americans of purely Anglo background. The Puerto Ricans however arrived in New York at a time when economic patterns were already well established, hence the melting pot which they were invited to join was one which applied to the lower rather than the upper end of the social and economic spectrum (Hoffman, 1968). For those immigrants with limited access to social and economic channels the immigrant mother tongue becomes one marker of second-class citizenship; the other is the dialect of English generated and maintained as a consequence of these very same social limitations.

Immigrant varieties of English are the product of particular settings for language learning. There are said to be two levels of communication in society -the horizontal level, which operates among people of the same status- and the vertical level, which is predominantly downward (Hughes, 1970). In the case of non-standard immigrant

English we are presumably dealing with the language of horizontal communication, and the contexts in which it occurs are those where there are few informal or friendship contacts with speakers of standard English and no intellectual or high culture networks in English. It may also become part of the expression of ethnic pride. It is a dialect resulting from low spending power, low social influence, and low political power. It reflects not individual limitations, such as inability to learn language, low intelligence, or poor cultural background, but rather the social limitations imposed on the immigrant community. Favorable reception of the immigrant group leads to temporary generation of an immigrant variety of English. This has been the case for many European immigrant groups in the United States (Fishman *et al*, 1966). Favorable conditions include fluidity of roles and statuses in the community. Unfavorable social conditions lead to maintenance and perpetuation of the immigrant dialect of English. The economic and social possibilities available for some immigrants do not make the learning of standard English either possible, desirable or even helpful. The non-linguistic dimension of the immigrants task has been emphasized by Leibowitz. "The issue is indeed a political one. Whether instruction is in English or the native language makes little difference; rather what is important are the opportunities that are thought available to the ethnic group themselves... Educators have provided the most significant evidence to demonstrate this. Increasingly, they have studied the relationship between a pupil's motivation and performance in school to his perception of the society around him and the opportunities he believes await him there...

The crucial factor is not the relationship between the home and school, but between the minority group and the local society. Future reward in the form of acceptable occupational and social status keeps children in school. Thus factors such as whether a community is socially open or closed, caste-like or not, discriminatory or not, has restricted roles or non-restricted roles and statuses for its minority group segment, become as important as curriculum and other factors in the school itself, perhaps more important" (Leibowitz, 1970). The difficulties of some immigrant groups thus result from more than simple questions of language learning but depend on the type and degree of interaction and acceptance available in the community.

The Linguistic Dimension

Having looked at the social background to immigrant varieties of English we may turn to the linguistic problems associated with the description of their particular form and characteristics. The simplest approach is to begin with the source language (LS) and the target language (LT) and to describe instances where the learner's speech differs from the target language as interference. This approach is inadequate, however, and obscures the nature of the processes involved. Nemser proposes a three part approach, adding the learner's approximative system as the intermediate stage between the source and target language. "An approximative system is the deviant linguistic system actually employed by the learner attempting to utilize the target language. Such approximative systems vary in character in accordance with proficiency level; variation is also introduced by learning experience...

communication function, personal learning characteristics etc... Our assumption is threefold: (1) Learner speech at a given time is the patterned product of a linguistic system, *La*, distinct from *LS* and *LT* and internally structured. (2) *La*'s at successive stages of learning form an evolving series, *La*i...n' the earliest occurring when a learner first attempts to use *LT*, the most advanced at the closest approach of *La* to *LT*... (3) In a given contact situation, the *La*'s of learners at the same stage or proficiency roughly coincide, with major variations ascribable to differences in learning experience." (Nemser, 1970, 116). Nemser proposes that learner speech should thus be studied in its own terms (S.P. Corder, 1967, 1971).

I propose to use Selinker's concept of *Interlanguage* to characterize these approximative systems, and to interpret immigrant varieties of English as interlanguages generated from the social circumstances under which English is acquired in particular settings. Selinker's definition of interlanguage focuses on the psycholinguistic processes presumed to contribute to interlanguage. "If it can be experimentally demonstrated that fossilizable items rules and subsystems which occur in interlanguage performance are a result of the native language then we are dealing with the process of *language transfer*; if these fossilizable items, rules and subsystems are a result of identifiable items in training procedures, then we are dealing with *transfer of training*; if they are a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to the material to be learned, then we are dealing with *strategies of second language learning*; if they are a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to communication with native speakers of the target language,

then we are dealing with *strategies of communication*; and finally if they are the result of a clear *overgeneralization of target language*, then we are dealing with the *overgeneralization of linguistic materials*." (Selinker, 1972). These concepts are discussed and illustrated in Selinker 1972, Richards 1971a.

In using this model as a framework for the analysis of immigrant varieties of English, we begin with the premise that the acquisition of a new language by an immigrant group is always a developmental creative process. In the case of a non-standard immigrant interlanguage we have to account for the generation of a subsystem of rules which are at the same time linguistic and social in origin. "... Within a large and stable bilingual community like the New York City Puerto Rican community, bilinguals interact and communicate with each other, using both languages far more frequently than they interact and communicate with members of the surrounding monolingual community. In such a community, speakers generate their own bilingual norms of correctness which may differ from the monolingual norms, particularly when there is a lack of reinforcement for these monolingual norms." (Ma and Herasimshuk, 1968).

These norms of immigrant English are illustrated by the speech samples given in *Bilingualism in the Barrio* (Fishman *et al*, 1968). One subject for example, when asked to say where he did his shopping, replied:

> *"No make any difference, but I like when I go because I don't have too many time for buy and*

the little time we buy have to go to someplace and I find everything there."

On asked about trips to Puerto Rico, he gives:

"I go there maybe about one and half and I find too many job for me. But I can't work over there if I go alone and I have the family here. I work I think 7 or 8 months in Puerto Rico..."

The concept of interlanguage as applied to this data would lead to a focussing on it as the learner's "approximative system", and to the isolation of examples of language transfer, strategies of communication, strategies of learning,transfer of training, and overgeneralization. Language transfer is illustrated in the second sentence, which closely follows the structure of Puerto Rican Spanish. In the first example however the syntax used cannot be exclusively attributed to the effect of language transfer, since translating the English back into Spanish does not render the sentence directly into Puerto Rican Spanish. To further characterize the interlingual features of the first sentence, we need refer to the concepts of communication and learning strategies, and to overgeneralization.

Under communication strategies we may characterize interlingual features derived from the fact that heavy communication demands may be made on the second language, forcing the learner to mold what he has assimilated of the language into a means of saying what he wants to say, or of getting done what he wants to get done. The learner, isolated from close interaction with speakers of the target language, may "simplify" the syntax of the language in an effort to make the language

an instrument of his own intentions. Such strategies affect both first and second language performance in English. A child, not possessing the rule for nominalization in English, gave as a definition for *fence*:

> "*to keep the cow... don't go out of the field*"
> (Labov, in Hymes 1971, 455).

This process is seen in many of the constructions produced by second language learners (Richards, 1971b). Referring to a study by Coulter (Coulter, 1968), Selinker notes: "Coulter reports systematic errors occurring in the English interlanguage performance of two elderly Russian speakers of English, due to a tendency on the part of second language learners to avoid grammatical formatives such as articles, plural forms, and past tense forms... Coulter attributes it to a communication strategy due to the past experience of the speaker, which has shown him that if he thinks about grammatical processes while attempting to express in English meanings he already has, then his speech will be hesitant and disconnected, leading native speakers to be impatient with him... this strategy of second language communication seemed to dictate to those speakers of English that a form such as the English plural was not necessary for the kind of English they used" (Selinker, 1972).

Strategies of learning and communication refer to the language contact phenomenon, whereby due to the circumstances of learning and the uses required of English, the learner generates a grammar in which many of the marked-unmarked distinctions of the target language are removed, where inflected forms tend to be replaced by uninflected forms, and where preposition, auxiliary and article usage appears to

be simplified. Simplification is one way in which speakers of different languages can make a new language easier to learn and use. Ferguson emphasizes the theoretical importance of such processes, and notes that "... many, perhaps all speech communities have registers of a special kind for use with people who are regarded for one reason or another as unable to understand the normal speech of the community (e.g. babies, foreigners, deaf people). These forms of speech are generally felt by their users to be simplified versions of the language, hence easier to understand, and they are regarded as imitation of the way the person addressed used the language himself... The usual outcome of the use of foreigner talk is that one side or the other acquires an adequate command of the other's language and the foreigner talk is used in talking to, reporting on, or ridiculing people who have not yet acquired adequate command of the language. *If the communication context is appropriate however, this foreigner talk may serve as an incipient pidgin and become a more widely used form of speech*" (Ferguson, 1971) (italics added).

In addition to these processes, overgeneralization is frequently observable in interlingual speech. Overgeneralization of target language rules is seen in the sentence *have to go to someplace* (above) where previous experience of *infinitive + to + adverb* is overgeneralized to an inappropriate context. Overgeneralization as a feature of interlingual speech is extensively illustrated in Richards 1971a and 1971b.

In describing immigrant interlanguage, important questions will arise as to the degree to which norms actually exist, since there is always a cline from minimum to full proficiency in English. Writing of *Cocoliche*, an immigrant interlanguage once spoken extensively by Italian immigrants in Argentina, Whinnom notes that the interlanguage was completely unstable in given individuals, since there was almost invariably continuing improvement in learning the target language, and that acquisition of lexical, phonological and syntactic items must have been subject to chance, so that the speech of any two individuals was never identical. "Nevertheless, the system as a whole, however ephemeral in given individuals, and however broad a series of spectra it encompassed, was fairly clearly *predictable*, and was continually renewed in recognizable form from year to year and from generation of immigrant to generation of immigrant." (Whinnon, in Hymes, 1971, 98). In analyzing such interlanguages, language transfer, overgeneralization, strategies of learning and communication, and transfer of training (see below) would appear to account for the basic processes involved, and allow for the analysis of language learning in terms of the social conditions, under which learning and communication takes place.

2. INDIGENOUS-MINORITY VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

In examining the social and linguistic dimensions of immigrant English, we have seen that the size of the immigrant group and their characteristics on dimensions of status, power, mobility prestige and wealth, can influence the variety of English acquired. All language learning, whether the child learning his mother tongue, or an adult acquiring a second language, proceeds in terms of approximative systems, but under certain conditions in second language learning this interlingual stage may become the end point in the learning process, taking on a new role in in-group communication and hence in ethnic identity and solidarity. The conditions under which such non-standard interlanguages are the outcome of culture/language contact are present to a greater or lesser extent in a number of related situations. The language, educational and economic problems of many Mexican-Americans in the western and southern United States are well known, as well as the particular problems of certain American and Canadian Indian groups. Ornstein analyzes Spanish and Indian language questions, and notes the varying and often clashing social systems which have contributed to mother-tongue maintenance in the southwest. Ornstein suggests that an interlingual Hispano-Spanish and probably a Hispano-Anglo-Indian interlanguage exist in certain areas of the southwest. Among the forms of English he includes in his taxonomy are Spanish-Indian English pidgin, Spanish-English border pidgin, other Spanish-English pidgins, occupational English and teenage English (Ornstein, in Perren and Trim, 1971, 87).

I should like to isolate for consideration here however the varieties of English which result from contact between standard English (i.e. the English of the dominant economic, social and cultural group) and culturally displaced and economically underprivileged indigenous minorities in a number of countries. Evidently a decision to isolate, say, North-American Indian groups for separate consideration and the classification of Mexican American English as an immigrant variety, depends on whether one wishes to emphasize sociological, historical, or linguistic characteristics. The language performances reported for certain American and Canadian Indian and Eskimo groups, for Australian aborigines, and for some rural New Zealand Maoris, suggest sufficient historical, sociological and interlingual similarity to justify their inclusion here. Linguistically and socially, we are dealing with the same phenomenon isolated as operating in the immigrant language setting -- the development of an interlanguage generated from the limited opportunities for social and economic advancement often associated with membership of an indigenous minority group. Typical descriptions write of loss of or decreasing fluency in the native language, and an inadequate command of English, and local terminologies have evolved from the particular dialects of English encountered: Cree English, Pine Ridge English, Dormitory English, Aborigine English, Maori English and so on (Darnell, 1971, Wax *et al*, 1964, Rubin, 1970, Alford, 1970, Benton, 1964). Regretfully, there are virtually no adequate or even partial descriptions of any of these dialects. The closest I know of to an account of such a dialect is that given by Benton for the English of certain rural New Zealand Maoris (Benton, 1964).

Traditionally the so-called "broken speech" of many children from these cultural groups was attributed to poor learning backgrounds, such as bad speech patterns in the home, lack of adequate English reading materials, limited general experience together with self-consciousness resulting from poor language control. Cultural deprivation was seen as the key to poor language development. Of course failure in the school means alienation from the school and the early drop-out levels reported for many native children reflects an early awareness by the child of the school's non-acceptance of his culture and its values (Ashton-Warner, 1963). The school's failure, rationalized as the child's failure, generated such concepts as cultural deprivation, restricted language development, and even cognitive deficiency, all of which are symptomatic of analysis that fails to recognize the real ingredients of the child's experience.

Recently emphasis has been placed on the inter-dependence of social and linguistic variables. Plumer points out that "the relation between knowing English and the ability to perform in school is clearly much more vital and complex for these groups but the general point of view is the same. If they see themselves locked out of society anyway, then their motivation to learn English will be understandably low, especially if in so doing they risk cutting themselves off from associations they already have, namely their peers and families." (Plumet, 1970, 270). Wax *et al.* describe the progressive withdrawal for Sioux Indian children from the white environment represented by the school. They refer to the existence of Pine Ridge English, and

point out that few Indian children are fluent in the English of the classroom (Wax *et al*, 1964). Darnell describes an Indian community in Alberta, Canada, and the interaction between Cree and English. "Interference of Cree with the learning of English is too simple a model to account for the actual behaviour of speakers. English mistakes cannot be accounted for directly by attributing them to differences between the structures of the two languages. Rather it is necessary to define the linguistic repertoire of Calling Lake in terms of at least four, not merely two languages (Darnell, 1971). She refers to Standard English, Cree English, anglicized Cree and traditional Cree.

Recent work by Philips highlights the role played by conflicting learning styles and behavioural expectancies between the Indian child's home environment and the school, which explain his reluctance to participate in many normal school activities (Philips, 1970). Benton notes the role of the non-standard dialect as an instrument of self and group identification and of social perception. "While the type of language spoken by children as reflected in their performance on reliable verbal tests, is often a guide to their likely educational performance, it may be only one of several factors which retard both the growth of language ability itself, and general scholastic achievement. Ethnic differences also play an important part. Very often children from a minority or low status ethnic group may feel less able to control their own destiny than children from a dominant group. They may find it more difficult to work with a teacher whose ethnic background and general outlook is different from their own, either because they feel less secure with someone in whom they can find no

point of common identity, or simply because they do not know how to communicate with this stranger. Many children consciously relate their mode of English speech to their ethnic identity. One teacher reported that a Maori child had told her "'Maoris say *Who's your name*, so that's what I say'. Maori English is often an important sign of group membership and a source of security for these children" (Benton, 1964, 93).

The notion of interlanguage is again basic for a description of these dialects of English, which manifest (a) rules which are linguistic in origin, derivable from the mother tongue and from limited exposure to the target language and (b) rules which are social in origin, derived from what we have broadly referred to as communication and learning strategies. Many of the characteristics of these dialects stem historically from the limited functions required of English in the early stages of contact between the indigenous and colonizing groups. Initial uses of English would have been mainly in non-prestige domains, such as trading, and these dialects are characterized by the same structural and morphological simplification observable in immigrant speech. Examples from Benton's Maori English data are:

> *"Yesterday we going by walk. I shoot one deer and the other deers running away and I saw another deer up on the hill."*
> *"All her friends going up to her place."*
> *"She went down to her Nanny's and see if her mother was there."*

Other examples from Benton illustrate features historically derived from limited exposure to English, fossilized through lack of reinforcement from native speakers. For example, *by walk* (from *by foot*);

preposition overgeneralizations such as *on their car*, *we ate dinner on the table*; features derived from transfer of grammatical features of Maori are also noted: *Who's his name?* and absence of the copula: *They in bed* -- though copula omission, as Ferguson suggests, may be related to language simplification in certain types of language contact situations. That the distinguishing features of such a dialect serve as signs of group membership and solidarity is illustrated by the use of *you fellows* among rural Maoris, which is a solidarity and 'mateship' marker, though historically derivable according to Benton, from an attempt to parallel a singular/plural *you* distinction in Maori.

The following samples of aborigine English from Australia suggest that this dialect is closer to the "incipient pidgin" end of the cline of bilingualism, reflecting sharper social and economic segregation of Australian aborigines than for comparable groups elsewhere. As well as omitting certain structures (verbs, auxiliaries, plural *s* and the copula), constructions such as the following are observed:

"He bin go bump in you."
"We bin give you a lot of shell, eh?"
"He big one, eh?"
"Ufla (we) got tee vee."
"You know ufla (our) dog name?"
"Youfla (you) can have one."
"Oh look at crocodile-la."
"Look here-la. Him find this-la."
"You mook mine-la." (Alford, 1970).

In studying the history of Cree English, Pine Ridge English, Dormitory English and so on, it may be possible to use the framework proposed by Fishman for unstable bilingual societies, where language

domain separation gradually disappears (Fishman, 1967). In the initial stages of contact between the native community and the colonizing group, domain separation of languages obtains, and English is required in certain limited roles and capacities that are not conducive to the acquisition of a standard form of it (Leachman and Hall, 1955). These are the conditions for the generation of a pidgin or a non-standard form of English characterized by structural and morphological simplification and by communication and learning strategies and interference. As domain separation in language use gradually disappears, English becomes an alternative to the mother tongue, especially in family and friendship domains. The non-standard form of English now has functions related to intimacy, solidarity, spontaneity and informality. The standard language, encountered in the school and through contact with outsiders, has formal functions, thus the characteristics of a diglossic setting may obtain where complementary values L(low) and H(high) come to be realized in different varieties of English. This would appear to apply to some members of the Cree community described by Darnell and is found with some monolingual Maoris, where the frequency of Maori English features increases according to the appropriateness of the domain. Features attributable to interlanguage processes can thus achieve stabilization through identification with ethnic roles. More detailed studies however are needed of the native communities sharing these cultural, economic, social and linguistic features, to determine the degree to which interlanguage features in non-standard dialects are related to the social, economic and political status of the community.

3. PIDGINIZATION AND CREOLIZATION

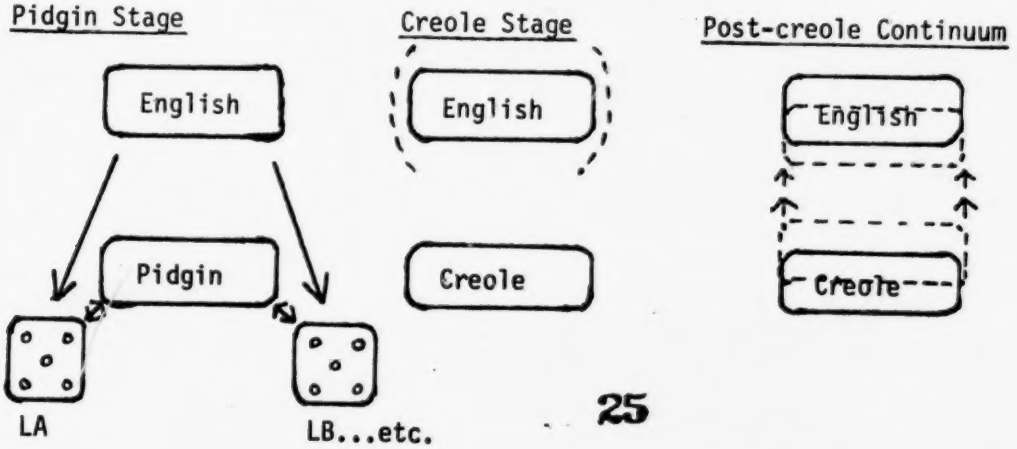
We have seen that certain non-standard varieties of English may be viewed as interlanguages derived from particular patterns of social interaction. Hymes suggests that the extremes to which social factors can go in shaping the transmission and use of language is seen in the processes of pidginization and creolization (Hymes, 1971, 5). The concept of pidgin and creole languages owes much to Hall's distinction between a pidgin as a lingua franca spoken as a second language, and a creole as a first language which has developed out of an original pidgin and expanded its resources and functions through becoming the mother tongue of a speech community (Hall, 1966). Not all linguists however see a pidgin as a necessary base for a creole. Mafeni notes that in some cases a pidgin may be a lingua franca for some members of the community and a mother tongue for others, which is the case for the English-based pidgin spoken in Nigeria, for Krio in Sierra Leone, and of pidgin English in parts of the Cameroon Republic (Mafeni, 1971).

For our present purposes we will define a pidgin as an interlanguage arising as a medium of communication between speakers of different languages, characterized by grammatical structure and lexical content originating in differing sources, by unintelligibility to speakers of the source languages and by stability. A creole is a similarly derived language spoken as a mother tongue.

English based creoles are found in such areas as the Bahamas, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, the English-speaking Windward and Leeward islands, in Guyana and Belize in South America, and in Sierra Leone and the Cameroons in West Africa (De Camp, 1968, Hymes 1971). In many settings an internationally acceptable standard variety of English is the official language, but the majority of the population speak an English-based creole for the normal purposes of communication. Stewart suggests that in creole settings one tends to find monolingual creole speakers, monolingual standard speakers, and bilinguals, each of the languages having particular functional distributions in the national communication network and being associated with quite different sets of attitudes about their appropriateness (Stewart, 1962). In describing the Jamaican situation, Craig proposes a model with a creole component, an interlanguage, and the standard local variety of English. He uses the interlanguage concept to describe the area between the creole and the standard which is the end point for the majority of young people in Jamaica (Craig, n.d.). When the population is given educational, economic, and social opportunities the creole thus loses its distinctive features and becomes more like the standard. The future history of the creole hence "depends on the social status of the creole vis-à-vis the standard, and the variability of the language and the culture" (De Camp, 1968). Cave gives details of this interlingual continuum in a creole setting (Guyana), the spectrum of speech varieties he illustrates ranging from that used by the aged East-Indian grandmother on a sugar estage, to that used by the educated middle class urban dweller, to that of the speaker of RP at the university (Cave, 1970).

Form	Used by
1. /ɑɪ təʊld hIm/	Britons and a small number of persons in higher administrative posts imitating white talk for social reasons
2. /ɑɪ to:ld hIm/	Important middle class in administrative positions in government and commerce and also professional men
3. /ɑɪ to:l Im/	Ordinary middle class such as clerks, commercial employees, and teachers who have had secondary education
4. /ɑɪ tɛl Im/	Careful speech of non-clerical employees, shop assistants, hairdressers, who have had primary but no or negligible secondary education
5. /ɑ tɛl Im/	Alternative for 4
6. /ɑɪ tɛl ɪ/	Relaxed form of 4
7. /ɑ tɛl ɪ/	Relaxed form of 5
8. /mɪ tɛl ɪ/	Rural laboring class — tradesmen, servants, carters, etc. — who have had probably a primary education but are often underschooled, semi-literate and sometimes illiterate
9. /mɪ tɛl æm/	Older generation of East-Indian laboring class with no schooling.

This pidgin, creole, and interlingual post-creole continuum may be illustrated:



An interlingual medium of communication between speakers of languages A,B... produces an interlanguage spoken as a second language in the pidgin stage. This has become a mother tongue at the creole stage. The continuing presence of English is not necessary for its maintenance. In the post-creole stage interlanguages varying between pure creole and standard English are represented.

Pidgin, creole and post-creole phenomena pose typological questions and more general questions as to the circumstances under which languages reduce and expand in structure and lexical resources. What factors account for the intelligibility of the immigrant interlanguage as opposed to the evolution of a new linguistic code in the case of a creole? Are the processes of language adaptation and creative generation seen in pidginization similar to the processes of interlingual generation in other language learning contexts?

One of the earliest to recognize that non-standard forms of English and English-based creoles should be related to factors in the social environment, rather than attributed to individual limitations, such as low intelligence, sloppiness, laziness, etc., was Reinecke, who wrote a sociolinguistic history of Hawaiian creole in the 30's, under the influence of Park's sociological account of dialect and language change (Reinecke, 1969, Park, 1930). Reinecke emphasizes that most creoles have in common the fact that they are derived from situations where an imported laboring and indentured servile class were under the subjection of European masters. The difference between the integratively motivated immigrant and the plantation worker is that

"the immigrant comes to a country having the ideal of assimilation of the various immigrant stocks into a fused new nationality... the immigrant is usually of the same race and culture. The plantation laborer is of a different race and culture from his master. He is typically held in a servile or semi-servile economic and political status, and is at any rate, completely dependent upon his master" (Reinecke, 1969).

Reinecke's thesis is that creoles are the result, not merely of linguistic processes, but of the interplay between language, and economic, social, educational and political factors, deriving from what we have called "communication strategies". The communication structure of a plantation is an important factor, since the plantation environment furnished neither the opportunity nor environment to learn standard English. The disproportion between English and non-English-speaking groups resulted in limited interaction networks with native speakers. The division between creole speakers and standard speakers was a consequence of the deliberately maintained servile or semi-servile economic status for the laborers, which afforded them little chance to rise into the middle class.

The degree and nature of contact with the upper language differs in the creole setting from that of the immigrant and indigenous minority examples we have looked at. The immigrant and native interlanguages are characterized by settings where the target language dominates, leading to continued opportunity for the learning of English. Complete social assimilation is theoretically possible whereas in the pidgin setting, English was the language of a resident or transient

minority who were socially inaccessible, hence the target language was not considered as a model for learning. Occupational, racial and social stratification, the powerlessness and restricted mobility of the slaves or labourers, meant that there was no solidarity between speakers and addressees, and no suggestion that they were to become a single community. The relative presence of these factors in the other learning contexts we have considered leads to interlingual generation which remains however, intelligible to speakers of English (Mintz, 1971, Grimshaw, 1971).

Problems of description

Our basis for the analysis of immigrant and indigenous interlanguages has been the concept of interlanguage, the learner's approximative system, characterized by transfer, transfer of training, strategies of communication and learning and overgeneralization. Related concepts have been made use of by creolists in their work, though we lack a complete illustration of the process of creolization due to a relative lack of first hand data. The process of linguistic adaptation as a product of language contact which is the basis of pidginization and creolization, has however been illustrated from second language learning examples by a number of linguists interested in the explanation of creolization. Samarin illustrates what we have referred to as communication and learning strategies in discussing the grammatical adaptation and reduction seen in creoles, drawing comparative examples from second language learning (Samarin, 1971). Whinnom illustrates how certain essential features of pidgin – simplification,

and impoverishment in terms of the source languages – could come about if a German and English schoolboy were forced to use French as a medium of communication in a context where no other models for French were available (Whinnom, 1971). Cassidy looks at contextual needs in the learning situation and the use of linguistic adaptation to meet these needs (Cassidy, 1971). The needs for grammatical change and lexical borrowing is thus related to the social needs for language. Problems of process description are heightened however by the very nature of most creole settings.

Settings where creoles exist in a clearly defined diglossic relation to a status language would presumably allow for a description of learning according to the separate contexts in which each language operates. Speakers themselves however cannot be so clearly compartmentalized. Le Page observes that the term interference may be appropriate to describe certain elements of a foreign language learning setting, where the LI and L2 represent the languages of two sociologically and psychologically distinct speech communities, such as the learning of English in France (Le Page, 1968). In many creole settings, as in the other interlingual cases we have looked at, there is no such clear cut dividing line between LI and L2. If the child's *native language* is indeed an interlanguage derived from exposure to creole and standard English problems arise in deciding what is known and what is unknown, since unlike the foreign language setting, increased knowledge of standard English adds to the learners *native language repertoire*, rather than forming a new independent linguistic

code. Linguistic competence in such cases cannot be described by reference to the abstract representation of the corporate rules of the speech community but must be seen as the rules governing individual interaction at a variety of social levels, some of these rules belonging to what linguists call LI and others to L2. There is, however, no homogenous and clearly defined group speaking only either LI or L2 (Lawton, 1964). Likewise the distinction between standard and non-standard English cannot be unequivocally correlated with the absence or presence of particular speech forms, since individual speakers vary according to the distance they have moved from one norm to another. The speech communities involved are not independent sociologically, culturally, or linguistically. There is no sharp break in social communication but a series of approximations which are represented by successive interlanguages generated according to the degree of social mobility achieved.

The complex and little understood process of pidginization and the related creole and post-creole interlingual continuum hence suggest a field of research which can both illuminate and be illuminated by the study of second language learning. While the social conditions characteristic of pidgin and creole settings are not those of typical language contact situations, our understanding of interlanguage processes will surely be clarified by the expanding field of creole studies, illuminating the factors involved both in the learning of a standard language and the dimensions that need to be accounted for in analyzing the development of interlingual varieties of English. Typo-

logical description of the different settings involved and detailed study of interlanguage processes in contact situations should enable us to predict in instances where English comes in contact with another language, whether the outcome will be a standard form of English, a non-standard form, or a new English-based language.

4. LOCAL VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

The interlanguages we have looked at so far reflect differing degrees of social, economic and political penetration of societal structures, these structures being controlled by native speakers of the standard language. Another related phenomenon must be considered in reference to the generation of different dialects of English or of English-based languages — the situation where these societal structures are maintained by non-native speakers of English. This is the phenomenon associated with countries where English is not spoken natively but is widely used as a medium of instruction and of official and informal communication. It is the case of English as a second language in multilingual areas such as commonwealth Africa, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, the Philippines, Fiji and so on. In areas where English is widely used outside of native-speaking environments, local varieties of English have developed; Filipino English, Educated Nigerian English, Indian English etc. We do not have this phenomenon inside a political area where English is widely spoken natively. Thus we do not have "French-Canadian English" as an alternative to Canadian English. Deviations between French-Canadians' use of English and Canadian English are always considered idiosyncretic, just as the immigrant varieties of English are said to be characterized by errors or by poor learning of English. But the educated Nigerian's or Indian's use of English, though it differs from British or American English, is regarded as a standard acceptable way of speaking.

In these countries English serves a variety of formal and informal uses (Allen Jones, 1968, Brosnahan, 1963, Fishman *et al*, 1967, Hunt, 1966, Laver, 1970, Prator, 1968, Spencer, 1971). It may be used often or rarely, but no one has recourse to English for all his language needs. It is reserved for use with specific individuals in a narrowly restricted and clearly defined range of situations. In many of these countries English is the language of commerce, law, politics, administration, education, and of culture at all levels above the local. It exists alongside a complex of local languages, with English functioning as an important auxiliary and sometimes national language. It is invariably learned after the mother tongue in the somewhat artificial environment of the school, consequently it is not often the language of intimacy. It has few emotional connotations. It is largely an urban phenomenon, knowledge of English being correlated with distance from an urban center. It has the important role too in many settings of being the key to social mobility. In West Africa for example, it is through English that an individual breaks the bonds of West African traditional life and enters into some kind of relationship with the westernized sectors of society (Spencer, 1971).

In such settings the concept of interlanguage can be used to describe the processes by which local varieties of English have emerged in many parts of the world. Kachru suggests that the process of Asianization of English in those areas where English functions as a second language "supplies a rich data for language contact study in a cross-cultural and multilingual context... and raises many typologically

interesting theoretical and methodological problems about the new Englishes which have developed from the LI (mother tongue) varieties of English." (Kachru, 1969). Similar problems of description arise in some settings as exist in creole areas, since in any area where English is a second language we find a range of local varieties of English varying from an upper level "intellectual" to a lower level "market" English. At the lower end we may find a pidgin or an English-based creole, hence the Caribbean examples discussed above become special instances of the general trends noted here.

Kachru writes of the cline of bilingualism in India and defines three measuring points — a zero point, a central and an upper (ambilingual) point. He defines the zero point as competence in some very restricted domain such as counting. African examples would be the market woman whose English is limited to *customer buy here; my friend buy from me; look tomatoes; what of oranges; Madam I have good pampaw O!* (Spencer, 1971, 37). In the Philippines this is presumably the level of the "halo-halo" (mix-mix) speech (Llamzon, 1969). There is no "rule-governed creativity" in English. A minimal knowledge in Indian usage is the register of postmen, travel guides and bearers. The central point, in India, is the register of the law courts, administration, and of a large number of civil servants and teachers who learn English as their major subject of study and who are able to make use of English effectively in those restricted fields where English is used in India. The extent to which English is required in prestige settings as opposed to purely functional settings is important as a standardizing factor in

these countries, as it is of course in the other contexts we have considered. English trade pidgins represent the effects of purely utilitarian roles for English, and trade or market English likewise represents limited functions for English, where it is not needed as an instrument to manipulate social behaviour or the speakers prestige. The upper level in Indian usage Kachru defines as the language of those who are able to use English effectively for social control in all those social activities in which English is used in India. In other settings the upper level may be defined by the educated uses of government and government officials, the middle level as that which might be heard in and around the secondary school, and the lower level as out-of-school uses. In West Africa the informal out-of-school language may be a local pidgin. There is of course much variety from one country to another but the overall pattern of a cline of bilingualism with the local standard at the upper level (Standard Filipino, educated Nigerian etc.) is general. There thus appear to be quite distinct feelings of appropriateness in particular contexts for the different levels of English usage, as there are in creole settings for the appropriate use of creole or English. Ure notes that in Ghana the kind of Entlish that is used as a *lingua franca* in the market places is not likely to be used in the classroom, and likewise no one is likely to use classroom English in the market (Ure, 1968).

Studies of the local varieties of English suggest the insufficiency of the concept of *interference*, and confirm the usefulness of an approach which includes interference alongside such notions as communication strategy, transfer of training, overgeneralization, and

strategy of learning. Kirk-Greene, writing of African varieties, suggests the need for study of the social role of language in the second language setting: "Only by understanding both the structure of the first language and the method by which English is acquired as well as the purposes for which it is used can we account for the deviant forms in bilingual usage" (Kirk-Greene, 1971, 61). Halliday suggests of the local varieties "their grammar remains that of standard English, with few important variations; their lexis too differs little from normal usage; but the accent is notifiably and identifiably local" (Halliday, 1968). He is of course writing about the upper end of the cline of bilingualism, but his description needs modification. Kachru makes a useful distinction between *deviations* and *mistakes*, a distinction which reflects an interrelating of socio-cultural and linguistic factors in the analysis of local dialects of English. He thus distinguishes between *mistakes* which are outside of the linguistic code of English, and which are consequently not part of the English code of speakers of educated Indian English, and *deviations* which can be explained in terms of the socio-cultural context in which English functions. A mistake in Indian English would thus be *He can to speaks* for example, but *this all* as opposed to *all this* is part of the English code of educated Indian speakers. In Nigerian English *He go work* is not representative of the level of usage in English language newspapers, but sentences like *All of the equipments arrived*, and terms like *motor park* for *parking lot* represent the local standard (Walsh, 1967). Of Indian English Kachru notes that "the linguistic implications of such acculturation of Indian English are that the more culture bound it becomes the more *distance* is

created between Indian English and other varieties of English. This is well illustrated by the extended domain of the kinship terms of the natively used varieties of English in Indian English, or by contextually-determined Indianisms which are deviant as they function in those contextual units of India which are absent in British culture... the distance between the natively used varieties of English and Indian English cannot be explained only by comparative studies of phonology and grammar. The deviations are an outcome of the Indianization of English which has gradually made Indian English culture-bound in the socio-cultural setting of India. The phonological and grammatical deviations are only a part of this Indianization." (Kachru, 1965, 408).

All of the central processes of interlanguage can be seen in local varieties of English. While we do lack detailed descriptions of any of these dialects, and do not have rigid criteria by which interlingual features can be identified the following examples are representative. In general the concept of language transfer may be used to characterize geographically defined varieties of English as a second language, such as differences between the pronunciation of English in different parts of Nigeria or the Philippines, of differences between mother-tongue based idioms in Filipino and Indian English. Differences between standard Nigerian and regional Nigerian Englishes are seen in the contrast between Nigerian English and Yoruba, Ibo, or Hausa English. Examples of mother-tongue transfer in standard Filipino would be:

"*I will pass by for you at 4*" (for *I will call for you*).
"*How are you today? Fine. How do you do to?*".
"*Close the light / open the light*" (for *turn off the light*).

"*Go down the bus*" (for *Get off the bus*).
"*to lie on bed*" (for *to lie in bed*) (Llamzon, 1969).

Examples of this sort of mother-tongue / local-variety-of-English relationship can be found in many settings where English is a second language. Many of the grammatical characteristics of local usage however must be seen as the results of overgeneralization or rule simplification and redundancy reduction etc. Examples would be the extension of *isn't it* as a question tag in *Your brother was on holiday isn't it*, and such Indianisms as:

"*I am doing it since six months*".
"*It is done*" (for *it has been done*).
"*When I will come*" (for *when I come*).
"*If I will come*" (for *If I come*).
"*for doing*" (for *to + verb*) (e.g. *imprisonment for improving his character*).

These reflect general tendencies observable in the acquisition of a second language, and I have described them elsewhere in terms of *interlingual interference* (Richards, 1971a), that is, as English-based subsystems, derived not from the mother tongue but from the way English is learned and taught.

Many other characteristics of local varieties of English reflect assimilation of English to the cultural mores of the country. Kachru describes these in terms of transfer, collocation-extension, collocation-innovation, and register-range extension, and gives many examples from the Indian setting. All these factors operate to make English part of the socio-cultural structure of the country, hence it is not surprising that those who would use an overseas standard instead

of the local standard are regarded as affected and artificial and subjected to ridicule and criticism.

The evolution of local varieties of English is thus an illustration of the adaptation of an overseas variety of English to meet the requirement that a second language in use as a medium of both formal and informal communication and not native to a country, should be capable of expressing the socio-cultural reality of that country. Some of this reality is expressed through modification of the phonological and grammatical system of standard overseas English and description of this modification in terms of the processes of interlanguage illustrate how a second language reflects the contexts in which it is learned and used. The generation of new lexical and grammatical extensions to either reduce some of the unnecessary complexities of English or to accommodate some areas of the local culture which cannot be covered by existing uses of English, are reflections of this interlingual creativity.

5. ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

The final context I wish to consider for the study of inter-language phenomena is the learning of English in countries where English is studied as a foreign language in formal settings (such as the school), and where English is not normally a language of instruction but simply a branch of study. English in Japan, France, Indonesia, Russia and so on, is a purely cultural object of study (though it may serve the country's economic plans) and is not involved in societal functions. What are the differences between the learning of English in these settings and in areas where English is a viable second language? There are basic motivational differences. In a foreign language setting there is always an effort to acquire an overseas standard form of English, and not some local form of English. Hence Japanese, Russians, Germans etc. are bilingual in the popular sense when they cannot be distinguished from native speakers of English by their uses of the language, though no such demands are made in the case of English as a second language, where local varieties are accepted as standards. These motivational differences are reflected in the course books in use in foreign language and second language settings. In foreign language contexts, the English lesson is the occasion to bring a sample of American or British life into the classroom, and the lessons are about life and people in English-speaking countries. In second language contexts the content of the school course is usually local, and learners begin to learn English without

necessarily knowing or caring what life is like in England or America.

These different learning goals influence the nature of the learner's interlanguage. In the foreign language setting all differences between the learner's use of English and overseas English are *mistakes* or signs of incomplete learning. There is no room here for the concept of *deviancy*, since the socio-cultural basis for deviancy does not exist in the foreign language setting. The learner is generally not satisfied until he has "eradicated" traces of his foreign accent, though for practical purposes, this may not be possible due to the limited time available in the school course. Limitations to the acquisition of standard English in the foreign language setting are hence not socially imposed limitations, which we encountered with the analysis of domestic dialects; in the foreign language setting limitations are rather *individual*, reflecting personal differences in motivation, perseverance, aptitude and so on. There are no societal limits to the learners progress in English. In reality those who do acquire accentless English in a foreign language context probably do so because of unique personal opportunities, rather than because of the school program.

These motivational factors have been emphasized by Reinecke. The desire to acquire an overseas model of the foreign language rather than a variety which is influenced by the conditions of acquisition was "followed by the Japanese at the two cultural crises of their history, when in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. select classes learned to read and speak Chinese in order that they might have access to

the cultural riches of China, and again when in the 19th century, the educated classes learned Western languages so that they might compete on equal terms with the Occident. The same phenomenon was seen in the Hellenictic age, when the oriental peoples, that is, certain classes, among them, administrators, gentry, priests, littérateurs, and traders, learned the Greek Koiné or common language. By "learned" we are not to understand that all orientals who set themselves to write and speak Greek came to use the language without an admixture of native Greek elements... the point is that there was an effort on the part of the well equipped classes really to learn the foreign speech, to get at its cultural treasures, as well as to use it as a mere instrument of communication with the foreigner. There were limitations in the use of the foreign language, but these were due to individual limitations, not social limitations." (Reinecke, 1969, 94).

In analyzing the English language performance of students in a foreign language setting all differences between the students' performance and an overseas model may be regarded as transitional or undesirable. While in the second language setting the generation of an interlanguage may become institutionalized at the group level, through socio-cultural adaptation of English to the local setting, and through purely linguistic processes such an overgeneralization and interference, in the foreign language setting these characteristics are not institutionalized at the group level but remain a normal part of the learning process. In a foreign language setting, where the major source of the input for English is the teaching manual and the teacher, the concept of transfer of training may be a basic analytic approach, since many

of the errors observable are directly traceable to the manner of presentation of the language features in the school course. Selinker illustrates transfer of training as a feature of the learner's interlanguage, through reference to an observed difficulty in distinguishing between *he / she* by Serbo-Croatian learners, although the same distinction occurs in the mother tongue. Textbooks however invariably present drills with only *he* and it is this aspect of the teaching process which influences the learner's interlanguage performance (Selinker, 1972). Language transfer will also be a basic concept, since many of the techniques used to teach English in a foreign language setting will depend on translation from the mother tongue to English. The concept of interlanguage thus differs according to the setting in which English is being learned. James' description of learner's interlanguage is appropriate to the foreign language context: "The learner of any L2 has a propensity to construct for himself this interlingua, an act of linguistic creativity so natural that it would be unrealistic to expect learners to circumvent it and proceed directly from his LI to the native speaker's version of the L2. A further reason for allowing the learner to construct the interlingua is that it is immediately usable by him in the context in which he is learning; his classmates have the LI in common so will converge in tacit agreement on the form of the interlingua. With this they will be able to communicate while they are learning, while the conventional approach, which proscribes the interlingua as a "corpus of error" either stifles the learner's communication drives altogether, or requires that the linguistically mature student becomes as a little child,

practising perfectly well-formed native-speaker's sentences, which are, however, often idealized and usually trivial. Accepting the interlingua, like accepting a child's non-standard speech, avoids the necessity to halt the communication process for the sake of the learning process." (James, 1970).

We have seen that the nature of a particular interlanguage will depend on the particular context under consideration, which will define whether the feature is to be considered a *deviancy* or a *mistake*, a marker of transitional or terminal competence, the result of interference, simplification, overgeneralization, collocation extension, collocation innovation, register-range extension, or to strategies of learning and communication.

CONCLUSIONS

I have tried to suggest here that a number of different contexts for language learning can be studied with a common model of analysis. The notion of interlanguage focusses on the learner's systematic handling of the language data to which he has been exposed, and the particular form of the learner's interlanguage will be determined by the conditions under which learning takes place. Standard English will be the outcome of language learning when the learner learns in order to become a member of the community who speak that form of English (e.g. the successful immigrant), or in order to invite perception of the learner as a person of equal status to standard speakers (e.g. the foreign student motivated to learn accentless English). Non-standard English will be the outcome of learning when the learner learns under circumstances which hinder his becoming a member of the community of standard speakers. Self-perpetuating social stratification correlated with color, race and other ethnic indicators, leads to the non-standard dialect taking on a new role of ethnic identity and solidarity. Educational planning which ignores this dimension of non-standard English is unlikely to achieve success. Partial learning, resulting from a lack of integrative interaction with standard speakers is reflected in modifications to the grammar of standard English, and these are best described as aspects of interlingual generation, that is, as either language transfer, transfer of training, communication strategies, learning strategies, or overgeneralization. The extreme case of non-

integrative motivation affecting language learning is seen in pidgins and creoles, where the learning process contributes to the separateness of the groups in contact, while maintaining solidarity at the lower level. Non-standard dialects differ from pidgins in that in the former, the target language is closer to the learner. There is no sharp break in social communication but rather a gradual merging. Progress towards standard English in a creole setting reflect changing perception of class and status as a consequence of social mobility. A local variety of English such as Indian English is influenced by the perception of English as a tool for nationhood, and reflects the modification of overseas English as the social and cultural mores of the country are accommodated. In a foreign language setting, while many of the interlingual processes are comparable to those seen in other contexts for language learning, they are always considered as indicators of partial learning. They have no social role to play for the learner. The study of interlingual phenomena in language learning thus leads to a focussing on the central processes of second language acquisition, and to a study of the circumstances which give these processes significance.

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